

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1585

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 266

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USNMR SHAPE

SULO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2008

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: REVISED SOVIET POSITION ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION
OF MANEUVERS

REF: GENEVA 1962

1. DURING LAST ALLIED CBM CAUCUS PRIOR TO EASTER BREAK,
THREE DIFFERENT THEORIES ON SOVIET NOTIFICATION FOR
"VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVER CBM WERE ADVANCED:

A. WORD "VOLUNTARY" IS A DEVICE COOKED UP BY
SOVIETS TO ELICIT GREATER FLEXIBILITY FROM MOSCOW
ON SPECIFIC MANEUVER PARAMETERS;

B. THE WORDS ARE INTENDED TO ALLOW WARSAW PACT
A WAY OUT OF MANEUVER OBLIGATION IN TIMES OF
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CRISIS OR TENSION IN EUROPE;

C. WORDS ARE INTENDED TO ALLOW SOVIETS TO ANNOUNCE ONLY SUCH MANEUVERS AS THEY CHOOSE TO.

SEVERAL REPS OBSERVED THAT LAST INTERPRETATION COULD NOT BE SQUARED WITH CLEAR WARSAW PACT STATEMENTS THAT THEY ARE PREPARED ACCEPT A POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO NOTIFY.

2. ON SUBSTANCE OF ISSUE, THERE WAS NO DISSENT FROM STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN THAT ALL ALLIES WERE EVENTUALLY, IN DUE COURSE, PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF SOVIETS' PROPOSED LANGUAGE. HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF ALLIED REPS, INCLUDING FRG, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT "DELIVERY BEFORE PAYMENT" IF ALLIES WERE TO AGREE TO SOVIET PROPOSALS WITHOUT ANY HINT OF WHAT SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO GIVE ON PARAMETERS. SEVERAL REPS, INCLUDING CANADIAN REP SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, WERE ALSO OPPOSED TO ANY IMMEDIATE ALLIED MOVE THAT WOULD MEAN ABANDONING APPROACH FOLLOWED CONSISTENTLY UP TO NOW OF SEEKING AGREEMENT ON PARAMETERS BEFORE TACKLING PROBLEM OF OBLIGATION. FRG REP REPORTED THAT HIS CHIEF OF DELEGATION HAD TOLD MENDELIVICH THAT SOVIET APPROACH WOULD "LOSE ANY INTEREST FOR FRG" IF SOVIETS WERE NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE IN PRINCIPLE TO ALL OF EUROPE (EXCEPTING, OF COURSE, USSR TERRITORY BEYOND 700 KMS. FROM FRONTIERS). FRENCH REP SUPPORTED FRG VIEW, RECALLING THAT EC-9 STATES HAD AGREED THAT SECOND MOST IMPORTANT CRITERION FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE WAS SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF AREA QUESTION (THE FIRST HAVING BEEN NOTIFICATION OF NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL ADDRESSEES, WHICH SOVIETS HAVE NOW ACCEPTED).

3. IN EVENT THAT ALLIES DO BEGIN TO MOVE TOWARDS ACCEPTING SOVIET VIEWS AFTER EASTER, FRENCH REP SAID SOVIETS AND PACT MIGHT HASTEN WESTERN ACCEPTANCE IF THEY WERE PREPARED TO INSERT IN PREAMBLE A REFERENCE TO THEIR POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO FULFILL

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TERMS OF MANEUVER MEASURE. IT WAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES MIGHT MAKE INTERPRETATIVE STATEMENTS AT CONFERENCE EXPRESSING THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT "VOLUNTARY" IS NOT AN EXCAPE CLAUSE ALLOWING PARTICIPANTS TO IMPLEMENT MEASURE ON AN OPTIONAL BASIS.

4. ALLIES ALSO TENTATIVELY AGREED THAT IF THEIR INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTED THEM TO SORK WITH SOVIET IDEAS, THEY WOULD

BEGIN BY GIVING INFORMAL AND BERY GENERAL ASSURANCES TO SOVIETS THAT THEIR APPROACH MIGHT PROVE ACCEPTABLE. IN RETURN, THEY WOULD EXPECT SOVIETS TO GIVE SOME GENERAL IDEAS ON WHAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCEDE ON PARAMETERS. IF THIS GENERAL EXCHANGE PROCEEDED IN A SATISFACTORY WAY, CBM COMMITTEE COULD THEN MOVE ON TO MORE SPECIFIC DRAFTING.

5. DUTCH REP REPORTED THAT THE HAGUE HAD INSTRUC-
TED ITS NATO MISSION TO CALL FOR AN ALLIED DECISION
IN BRUSSELS ON NEW SOVIET APPROACH. FRG REPORTED
BRINGING MATTER UP AT NATO, BUT OTHER ALLIES (INCLUDING US)
IN VARYING DEGREE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT A DECISION IN
BRUSSELS MIGHT TAKE TOO LONG AND UNDULY TIE HANDS OF
CSCE EXPERTS WHO NEED TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY.

6. COMMENT: THE ABOVE SHOWS THAT ALLIES ARE
GENERALLY PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARDS SOME SORT OF MODUS
VIVENDI WITH SOVIETS ON BASIS OF THEIR NEW POSITION. DALE

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